

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## The War of Propaganda Gets Into Its Stride

# TRUTH DROWNS WITH THE INNOCENTS

**"Cunning and  
Elaborately  
Misleading"**

—H. G. Wells

... I HAVE had some experience of propaganda. For a time I was in control of the propaganda against the German Government conducted by the British Ministry for Propaganda from Crewe House [during the Great War]. . . .

The work I did was done in absolute good faith, and the gist of the business is that we, who lent ourselves to propaganda, were made fools of and ultimately let down by the traditional tricks of the Foreign Office. We were kept in the dark about all sorts of secret entanglements to which these gentry had committed the country, and we were allowed to hold out hopes to the German people of a liberal post-war settlement our masters had no intention of making. We were tricked and, through us, the German liberals were cheated. . . .

I am not going to be a stalking horse for the British Foreign Office again. . . . If I lend myself to any propaganda, then by all my standards I shall be damned. . . . Most of us know that this time the propaganda activities are going to be far more cunning and elaborately misleading than ever before.

—from "A Radical in Search of Hot Water," by H. G. Wells. Penguin Special, 6d.

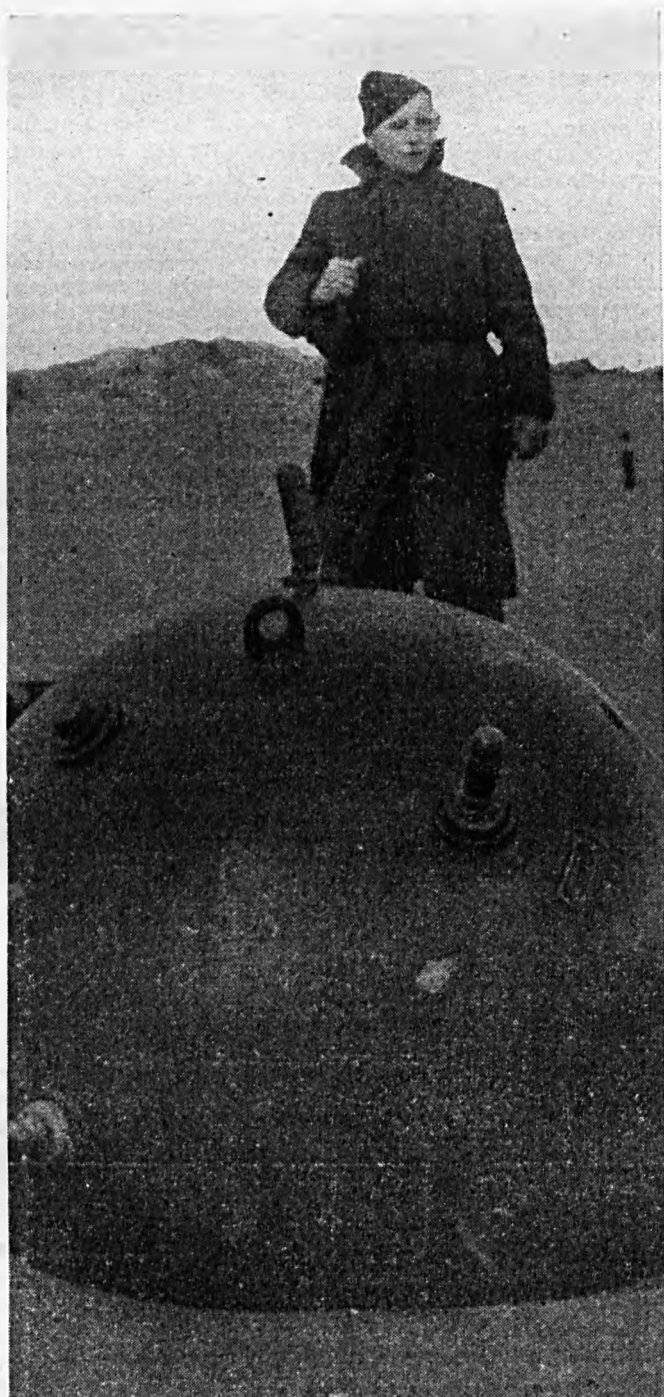
## 15,000 BACK NEUTRALS' PEACE MOVE

NEARLY 15,000 people have already written to George Lansbury, MP, saying: "We heartily support the appeal of Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold to the belligerents to stop the war and settle their differences by negotiation, conciliation and mediation."

More than a thousand of these were sent to this office as a result of the appeal in *Peace News*, though no doubt many readers had already sent messages as a result of the appeal in the national and local press.

Mr. Lansbury, who asks us to express his thanks to those who have written to him, has for a week or two been laid up with a very severe cold and gastric catarrh, and his doctor has told him to rest from his work for some days to come. He is, however, making progress toward recovery.

The sinking of the Dutch liner, *Simon Bolivar*, with the loss of over 80 innocent lives, has shocked even a world growing steadily more complacent to horror. While for the time being Holland has been careful to maintain strict neutrality over the outrage, printing the Allied and German comments side by side impartially in her Press, British propagandists have not been slow or inefficient in exploiting public sentiment into increased hatred of the Nazi Government.



## *A Symbol of Man's Inhumanity to Man*

... one of the mines, torn from their moorings, that are regularly washed up on the shores of the Atlantic and North Sea. This one, guarded by a Dutch soldier, is awaiting expert destruction. It has reached the end of its perilous travels. How many of its kind still lurk submerged, awaiting another *Simon Bolivar*?

As we go to press there is little appreciable ebbing of the tide of organized indignation which started flowing on Sunday and reached inspired proportions on Monday and Tuesday. This was too blatant, too verifiable an atrocity not to be shouted to the skies. Harrowing details told by the survivors have been cleverly written-up by Fleet Street's most competent writers, while their colleagues, the photographers, have captured and presented for the eyes of the world the pathos of the bereaved children.

To what end? That we shall hate all the more intensely, blame all the more unjustly, and scream for vengeance all the more stridently. If anything could be as shocking as this unpardonable outrage itself, it is the way in which these propagandist ghouls have seized upon it to intensify and prolong the conflict which caused it.

I was myself a witness of their impatience to get at this, the "best story" of the war for the Fleet Street men so far. I was passing the Great Eastern Hotel on Sunday and saw the large, inquisitive crowd thronging the entrance, headed by a group of outraged Pressmen who after about twelve hours were still baulked of their prey. "Who gave the order to keep them out?" clamoured the *News Chronicle* on Monday, calling attention to "the world interest aroused by the sinking of the *Simon Bolivar*—and its obvious propaganda value against Nazi Germany"! Who indeed, except someone with a particle of sympathy for the survivors in their weariness and distress?

## Cannot Be Condoned

No one can, before humanity, condone the circumstances of this latest and anticipated barbarity, but mutual allegations about the responsibility for laying this particular mine will help no one. The mine that sank the *Simon Bolivar* was only one of the countless engines of destruction now being called into use: it is but a symbol of the whole beastliness of war itself; and all who support, sanction and wage this war are uniformly guilty. It may have been a German mine—it probably was—but British mines, too, have been laid, and will continue to be laid until this conflict ends, for the very same purpose of destroying human beings and the vessels in which they are, with the same uncertainty as to whether they are combatants or innocents. During the last war Germany laid 43,000 mines in all: British and American minelayers were responsible for 172,000 mines in the North Sea and the Channel alone. Once laid, no one could foretell their destiny. They might stay submerged until corrosion released them from their cables. Or they might be torn from their moorings by storms—scores of mines, says the *Daily Telegraph*, were so broken loose during Monday night's storm in the North Sea—thereafter to drift with the currents and the tides into the paths of neutral as well as belligerent shipping.

Mines, bombs, bullets, shells, blockade-starvation, all are the essentials of modern war, and no one is superior to the other in humanity or selectivity. All are equally barbarous, indiscriminate and futile. The only indignation that an outrage of this latest kind can sanely arouse is an indignation against the total insanity of war itself.

The proposed British retaliation—an intensification of the blockade—is an atrocious reprisal for an atrocity. It is, as the Dutch newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, so truly comments: "unjustified, illogical and also wanting in tact."

## The Propaganda War

Meanwhile, let us beware of the propaganda war, so obviously getting into its stride.

In the Press the daily distortion continues, with war correspondents and other special writers prostituting their talents to the service of death and destruction. On the radio we have features like "The Rise of the Nazi Party" and speeches such as those of Mr. Churchill. On the screen

(Continued on back page)



## Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

# Stop the Blockade—or Stop the Cant! The Men and Women We Forget

THE war on the land and in the air has still not provided any great activity; only on the sea is it being waged with vigour.

That means that both sides are at present confining themselves to what has been called "the weapon of hunger." Many Germans will remember how the Allies used that weapon last time—and kept on using it after the Armistice had been signed.

Two articles on this subject, by Mr. W. Arnold-Forster, appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on October 17 and 18. The first described the difficulties faced by the Allies and drew attention to some extenuating circumstances. But Mr. Forster had to admit that

"It is, however, a dreadful fact that there was a delay of four months after the Armistice before any deliveries were made in Germany."

"A fourth month passed with nothing done; probably a thorough inquiry would show that the French, thinking always of the reparation of their devastated provinces, must bear the major share of responsibility for this. Finally, Mr. Lloyd George, in the Council of Four, broke the deadlock by producing a telegram from General Plummer, in Cologne, declaring that the food situation for the population there was unendurable . . ."

"On March 25 the first shipload of food was delivered in Hamburg . . ."

" . . . by the end of August . . . 1,105,000 tons of food and 110,000 of clothing and medical supplies had been delivered. This food was much less than Germany's full requirements . . ."

"Thus it is true that there was a tragic delay in sending any food into Germany. The responsibility for this must rest partly on the Germans, partly on the Allies, partly on the conditions which the war and the submarine campaign had created."

### 700,000 Died

IF, after reading that, you have any doubt about the inhumanity of "the weapon of hunger," consider the following extract from the *Daily Telegraph*, January 18, 1933:

"It is stated on good authority that German losses, women and children only, who died from privation and resultant diseases, during the War and after it owing to pressure of Allies' naval blockade, were 700,000."

This answers, too, Mr. Arnold-Forster's own attempts to argue that Germany's suffering was not wholly or mainly due to the fact "that the apparatus of the blockade was kept formally in being until July 12, 1919"

How can the British Government, which claims to be so shocked when others make war on women and children, again take up this weapon? How can its action be squared with protestations that our quarrel is not with the German people?

### End It

IF we really felt well disposed toward the German people we should cease using this weapon now.

At the beginning of the war there did seem to be signs of an uneasy conscience; the fact that food was being treated as contraband was not given much publicity. But the Soviet reply to the British Note (published on October 27) declared that:

"By including in its lists of war contraband such articles and goods as fuel, paper, cotton, fodder for livestock, footwear, clothing and materials for its manufacture, and even all foodstuffs—bread, meat, butter, sugar, and other foods—the British Government in fact proclaims as contraband the basic articles of mass consumption and creates the possibility of unlimited arbitrariness in classing all articles of popular consumption as contraband. This inevitably leads to profound disorganization of

the supply of necessities to the peaceful civilian population, gravely endangers the health and lives of the peaceful population, and portends innumerable calamities for the masses of the people."

The *Times* on the same day made this extraordinary comment:

" . . . the Note does not contain threats but indulges in some anti-blockade propaganda which is designed to please Germany and the neutral States. Thus the Soviet Government make their objections to the contraband list on the basis of a false premise that Great Britain is depriving the masses of the Soviet Union and other neutral States of articles of consumption like food, clothing and fuel."

The only honest course is for Britain to lift the blockade now or to realize that it has no moral ground on which to protest against the "inhumanity" of the war methods of others.

### "Mischievous" Pacifists

THOUGH in some places the local press is maintaining its reputation for a fair degree of impartiality, in others there are signs of something very different—at any rate so far as pacifism is concerned.

Typical of the latter were the remarks of a contributor to the *Wilts & Gloucestershire Standard*, who seemed disappointed that there was "no fine, no imprisonment, not even confinement in a concentration camp" for those who allied themselves with "some mischievous organization with a high-sounding title and . . . set out to hamper the Governments of this country and of France and to assist the enemy in a 'Stop-the-War campaign'."

There followed the not very original remarks about those who had been "surreptitiously pushing under doors and through letter boxes" copies of the leaflet *Nine Reasons for Stopping the War*. It was alleged that "so little proud were these persons of their job that they took good care to be invisible when any incensed householder opened his door to discover, if possible, who these miscreants might be."

Doubtless the leaflets were distributed during the black-out—since most PPU members have to work during the day—so their "invisibility" is hardly surprising. Was it so very important, anyway, since the leaflets carried the name and address of the publishers?

### "Cuthberts"

THERE followed a protest against the PPU headquarters being named after Dick Sheppard (perhaps the writer didn't know he founded the PPU!) and a revival of the term "Cuthbert" applied to conscientious objectors during the last war.

Needless to say, there was not a single attempt to answer the arguments for stopping the war given in the leaflet. The level of the attack may be gauged from the fact that the leaflets were described as "simply reeking of communism."

At least one reader of the *Wilts & Gloucestershire Standard* has written to approve the pacifists' activity—and since he is the proprietor of a furniture store in Leamington Spa he could hardly be suspected of communism!

It should be added that the comment in the *Standard* was published on Armistice Day; the contributor's quotation of "It's a mad world, my masters!" was certainly apt—though not in the way he intended.

### Still More Unemployed

IT is one of the small mercies for which we have to be thankful that the business of destroying the lives of mere foreigners has not been allowed to obliterate entirely from even our politicians' minds the fact that we still have millions in this our own country to whom we deny the means of life—work!

But it was only at the very end of the Parliamentary session, on Wednesday, that the question of unemployment was debated. And, of course, it was "just another debate," though it will not have been in vain if only the revelation that the number of unemployed is increasing stirs some consciences to eventual action.

As William G. Millman, Secretary of the National Association Against Unemployment, writes,

"After eight weeks of 'talkie warfare' and with a colossal increase in armament production,

plus conscription, the unemployment total shows an increase of 200,000 registered unemployed. This total will increase until actual warfare really begins to take its toll of those workers doing the actual fighting, thus causing vacancies in employment by fresh soldiers filling the places of those killed or maimed."

"The War Budget recently announced in the House is for £2,000,000,000, thus showing how money can be raised, if there is a will to raise it."

"Douglas Reed, author of *Disgrace Abounding* and foreign correspondent of *The Times*, writes that our problem today is 'to get rid of slums, ill-health, and unemployment.' He says, 'If you could take care of the people, foreign policy would take care of itself. If you cannot make England safe for the people, then England deserves what it gets.'"

Anything pacifists may be able to do individually to meet this problem is made more difficult by the fact that if the war continues for long, many pacifists will themselves be thrown out of employment, unless they are willing to accept war work.

Discussing how peace societies may help to ease this special problem, a Weybridge reader writes to suggest that a good way of raising the necessary funds would be for "those of us who are still in employment and earning more than a bare subsistence to contribute a shilling or two weekly, according to what we can afford."

There already exists, however, a Peace Pledge Union Victimization Fund to which donations of this kind can be sent, addressed to the Treasurer, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, and ear-marked for that purpose.

In addition, local efforts are also made. C. William Hope Gill, 2 The Lindens, Turk St., Alton, Hampshire, writes, for example:

"With a view to being of some small assistance to any who may be in need through their opposition to the Military Service Act, groups in the Mid-Southern Area (Hampshire, W. Surrey, and W. Sussex) have responded magnificently to my appeal, and have already promised sufficient weekly contributions to support three at our little bungalow near here, where we can offer accommodation and plenty of useful occupation on the acre of land attached."

"We hope that other Regions or Areas may follow this example in giving practical expression to our underlying solidarity and help to our less fortunate fellow members. I shall be glad to send further details to any PPU Secretary, or to hear from any to whom the idea might be of some help."

## J. Middleton Murry on CHURCHILL AND HITLER

IN a recent wireless speech Mr. Winston Churchill spoke of Hitler as "a cornered maniac." It was undignified, impolitic and untrue. When I read the tirade I thought of George II's witty reply to those who told him that Wolfe was mad: "I wish he would bite some of my other generals." If Herr Hitler were to bite Mr. Churchill, now! So that his talent might have the touch of genius which it so sadly lacks.

For genius, of some kind—and not all kinds are beneficent—Herr Hitler assuredly has. "He hath a demon," as Keats said of Hazlitt. He belongs to the category of Goethe's daemonic men. Great wits of this kind, as the epithet implies, are near allied to madness; but they are very different from it.

### If He Is Anti-Christ . . .

The great majority of Germans believe that Hitler is inspired; and quite a number of English people, in these apocalyptic times, are willing to admit it—only they suggest, inspired by the Devil. Quite cool heads speak of him as Antichrist. That is adequate to his significance, but it is not very helpful—indeed, positively discouraging, because it sets us wondering where we are to look for Christ, for whom Mr. Churchill is hardly a convincing understudy.

Mr. R. C. K. Ensor, in one of his two admirable Oxford pamphlets on Hitler (which I advise everyone—Mr. Churchill included—to read) speaks of a certain resemblance between Hitler and the real Julius Caesar. The resemblance certainly

exists, and Mr. Churchill might ponder it. But Caesar was the dissolute aristocrat turned tough-guy. Hitler is ascetic; and, more important, his decisive experiences were gained as a down-and-out in the lowest stratum of modern capitalist society.

Can one wonder that many Americans are suspicious of Allied intentions? And wouldn't the Allies' avowed aims of honest dealing in international relations sound better if they recommended payment of this debt?

### Regimentation in France

A BATCH of decrees issued in France last week provided a further instance of what Mr. Middleton Murry referred to in this commentary as "the drain of the French war-effort on the national vitality."

The decrees regulate industrial and commercial hours of work, labour representation, and holidays. Under them, all war industries are rigidly controlled.

We are told that "there is no reason to believe that the workers as a whole will fail to respond to the new discipline imposed upon them or that the Government will go beyond the limit of real necessity in its application."

Well, we shall see. But it is worth remembering that we shuddered at this sort of regimentation when Hitler introduced it into Germany. In France, however, it becomes "a further earnest of the French determination to throw all their resources into the prosecution of the war"—according to Friday's *Times*.

### Communists in France

REFERRING to Middleton Murry's comment in last week's issue on the suppression of the French Communist Party, a correspondent writes:

"I wish to point out an important factual inaccuracy regarding the suppression of the French Communist Party."

"Half its Parliamentary representation did not resign. About half were called up. Of the remaining 47, four resigned and the remaining 43 formed the Workers' and Peasants' Group that was subsequently suppressed. This, of course, strengthens your case against the French Government's undemocratic action."

### Trident and Cigar

He has tasted, and found very bitter, the dregs of the modern world, or top of which Mr. Churchill reclines with his trident and his cigar. Hitler knows the depths of contemporary despair. And he has it in for the Churchills of this world. He knows them and hates them; rather than see them still in the seats of the mighty he would pull the whole world down in ruins.

The world has had great destroyers before now, and has appeared to need them. Hitler knows a good many things that Mr. Churchill has never dreamed of. He knows that this is, in the fullest sense of the word, a lousy world; he will de-louse it and damn the consequences. A thousand Mr. Churchills would not be able to turn even a defeated Germany into a place where Mr. Churchill would be comfortable.

I notice that Mr. Churchill always pronounces Nazi, "narzy," though it should be "natzi," short and sharp. Partly, I suppose, to show that a true-born Englishman need never learn German; more to suggest "nasty." It will take much more than that to exorcise Hitler—much more even than the hardships of an economic blockade. The imagination to conceive, the passion to create and suffer for a new world—these alone will suffice. Mr. Churchill has never revealed a spark of either.

## What Chamberlain said about War

No. 3

"In war, whichever side may call itself the victor, there are no winners but all are losers."

—Neville Chamberlain at a National Government rally at Kettering, July 2, 1938.



# REGINALD REYNOLDS, Speaking Personally, and looking forward to the reign of "universal anarchism," cautions:

## BEWARE OF THE EVIL OF POWER!

ONCE, when I had lectured on Imperialism to an audience of unemployed men one of them asked me whether it was not true that we must protect our possessions in China. The Far East was in the news just then.

I asked what possession the comrade had in China. (Laughter.) He said he had a brother-in-law there in the army. (More laughter.) Naturally I said would it not be simpler if his brother-in-law came home?

My unemployed friend, who probably did not possess a flower-pot of his native soil, believed he owned something in Hong Kong merely because his brother-in-law was guarding somebody else's property.

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IN my first article I noted two illusions of Power: the illusion that it is a means, not an end, and the illusion upon which Power itself rests—the acquiescence in an authority that only exists because of that acquiescence. The unemployed man illustrates a third illusion—that this illusory Power is shared by those who in no way exercise it. If Power is a shadow, such Power is the shadow of a shadow.

The fourth illusion presents the greatest problem. It forced itself upon my attention recently when reading Max Nomad's *Apostles of Revolution* (Secker & Warburg, 15s.). Nomad shows clearly that there is a perpetual tendency for movements, originating in the desire to overthrow

tyranny and oppression, to create new tyrannies and new forms of oppression.

Long before Stalin established his dictatorship, Lenin and Trotsky had worked towards the same end. It was implicit in the teachings of Marx and Engels, and further back in the ideas of Bolseuf and Blanqui. Even Bakunin and many so-called "Anarchists" proclaimed the necessity for dictatorship!

Those who are interested in this aspect of the problem might well study Nomad's book, also Bertrand Russell's *Power* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.). Ignazio Silone's *School for Dictators* (Jonathan Cape, 8s. 6d.) is another very helpful book, though it deals with a more limited range. From these three books it may be learnt that the easiest thing in the world is for social discontent to become the lever to Power for unscrupulous opportunists or—alternatively—for honest leaders to become corrupted by their own success. "Power," said Lord Acton, "always corrupts. Absolute power absolutely corrupts."

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BUT without turning to books we should be able to learn all this merely by considering the material progress and spiritual retrogression of a typical trade union or Labour Party chief during his transition

from a young idealist to a Transport House Boss. In vain do Marxist apologists attempt to discriminate between "right" and "left" dictatorships, between Communist and Fascist bureaucracies. Their origins and their ends are the same.

### A Common Source

When the history of Machiavellian thought is written it will be found that here these rival doctrines have their common source. Machiavelli influenced Hegel, who in turn influenced both Marx and his reactionary contemporaries. Marx also was himself a student of Machiavelli. So was Lenin. So was Mussolini; and so was Blanqui, the Socialist, to whose ideas Mussolini has expressed his indebtedness. Italian fascism is openly and avowedly Machiavellian; but not more so than those who, at their convenience, denounce all decent principles and ethical considerations in politics as "bourgeois."

Thus the fourth illusion is the belief that Power, used unscrupulously and for selfish

ends, must be overthrown by Power which will not be used unscrupulously or for selfish ends. To get rid of "capitalism" is therefore not enough. There was oppression and exploitation in the world long before capitalism existed, and there may well be when capitalism is dead. *Power itself is the evil—the Power of an individual or group over the community.*

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I HAVE no space to elaborate a programme, but I can at least indicate what I believe to be the right line for those who agree with my analysis. Firstly, there is that quotation about the workers wanting power in their heads. That, of course, is a different kind of power—including especially knowledge and understanding of one's own problems. This is something in which everyone can help. Where this knowledge and understanding exist, Power as I have described it is impossible, because the people do not then acquiesce in the decisions of "authority" without their deliberate consent.

Secondly we can devise new sanctions—unhappy word!—to make the pursuit of Power ineffective. We can be incorruptible, which means much more than not taking bribes. The incorruptibility of George Fox showed itself in not being a "respector" of persons. In his day that meant calling Bigwigs "thou" and not taking off one's hat to them. And clearly half the point in being a Bigwig is lost if you are treated the same as anyone else, with people like Fox openly and outspokenly disapproving of you! That is how Power can be deprived of its major attraction.

### Why "Socialism" Has Failed

Thirdly, our "socialism," or whatever we call our determination to make a better world, must be re-considered and re-stated. I believe that Marxist socialism has failed to make headway because its protagonists have forgotten the universal truth of the saying that man does not live by bread alone.

Many socialists who themselves make great sacrifices for their cause invariably address the workers as though nothing mattered to them but their bellies. They forget that this is not only untrue, but that if it were true it would be ridiculous to call on men and women to make great efforts and take great risks for a Paradise they might never live to enjoy. Actually the hunger for idealism is so great that if people are not offered good ideals they will follow bad ones—hence their willingness to die for Adolf Hitler or the British Empire.

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WE have therefore a great task of re-generation—the re-instatement of social ethics as the basis of progress. If Power is ever to be challenged and if, as I hope, arbitrary Power is always to be challenged (so long as it exists, for example, in Europe or in our own colonies) only a profound conviction of human rights can make that challenge effective. Only the same conviction can prevent the replacement of one form of oppression by another.

Already we pay lip-service to that conviction when we say that all men are equal before the law; and that law we must aim not to destroy but to fulfil. It is not by sneering at democracy for being undemocratic that we shall achieve that end, but by pushing it forward to its utmost political and economic limits, as far as we dare to go. And the end of that path, for those who have the courage to follow it, is universal anarchism.

(Reginald Reynolds's first article in our series "Speaking Personally" appeared a fortnight ago.)

### From the Editor's Notebook

## C.O.s Then and Now Mrs. Swanwick's Work for Peace

A COPY of the eighth issue of *The Tribunal*, dated May 11, 1916, which a Harrogate reader has sent me, reminds me of some great differences between the last war and the present one as far as conscientious objectors are concerned.

In his leading article in that issue, for example, CLIFFORD ALLEN wrote of "our 150 comrades who are in military custody." That was after only about three months of conscription.

Yet now, according to a statement in the House of Commons, so far from any arrests, only 68 conscientious objectors had appealed, even, up to the end of October. And still—2½ months after the declaration of war—the date of the hearing of the appeals has yet to be announced.

There are, of course, differences—notably in the state of the respective wars—that go a long way to explain that remarkable difference. It would appear, in fact, that the duration of the war for 18 months already caused the machinery of conscription to be put rapidly into motion.

That was easier to do than it is now because there was a local tribunal in practically every town, including urban districts. But one would have thought that the appointment of them all would take considerably longer than it took the Ministry of Labour to appoint the present 15, even though they were appointed by the respective local authorities. Possibly

the hurried appointments accounted for their unsatisfactory nature, from the point of view of impartiality.

But even then there was not only the same appeal machinery but an additional series of appeal tribunals interposed between the local and the central tribunals. Yet 150 had not only gone through all that process, but had disobeyed the last tribunal's findings, had been arrested, and were in custody—all within three months.

From which we may at least gather that today the authorities are not particularly anxious to press people into the war machine.

### Mrs. H. M. Swanwick

OUR commentator wrote last week of "those who have striven for peace for so long" being "broken in spirit."

Though not all, by any means, are broken in spirit, I know some are, and in any case none can pretend to be particularly cheerful at the thought of the very thing they had given so much of their lives to preventing nevertheless coming upon us again.

So it must have been, I am sure, with MRS. H. M. SWANWICK, who died in tragic circumstances last week. Yet only three weeks ago she wrote in *Peace News*: "Some comparisons between 1914 and 1939 have cheered me a little, and, in the hope that they may cheer others, I pass them on." (She found that small comfort, readers will remember, chiefly in the fact that there are not so many belligerent countries this time.)

HELENA MARIA SWANWICK was born in Munich in 1864, but was of British nationality. She was the oldest sister of RICHARD SICKERT, the artist.

As early as 1888, MRS. SWANWICK was engaged in social work, and subsequently she made her name as a journalist and authoress, contributing to the *Manchester Guardian* and other papers. Undoubtedly her greatest journalistic contribution to the peace movement was her editorship of *Foreign Affairs*, for the Union of Democratic Control, from 1924 to 1928.

The Labour Government of 1924 and 1929 called her to public service as substitute-delegate of this country to the League of Nations Assembly in each of those years.

Her presidency, for the first term of office, of the British Section of the Women's International League was only one of MRS. SWANWICK's activities on behalf of women's movements. Among her books were *The*

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*Future of the Women's Movement* and *Women in the Socialist State*.

Latterly she had devoted her main attention to writing books. In 1935 she wrote her autobiography under the title, *I Have Been Young*, and in 1937 she published *Collective Insecurity* and last year *The Roots of Peace*.

### Evacuation

WHILST much sympathy will have been felt for MR. EDGAR PLAYER's suggestion, in our correspondence columns a fortnight ago, that there may be serious danger of some children being evacuated from pacifist to non-pacifist homes, another reader who knows something about evacuation at first hand writes to suggest that it is not as bad as it might seem.

"As the Care Committee Secretary of a big LCC elementary school," writes Miss BARBARA VINE, "I have visited many working-class homes in London, and now, as I am helper with evacuated mothers and children down here, I have gained some insight into conditions at Arundel."

It seems to her as a result of her experience that it is unlikely that children will find themselves billeted in homes where opinions about the war are very different from those in their own homes. Parents she has spoken to have shown disillusionment about it and anxiety that the war should stop as soon as possible.

### Personal Sacrifice

MOVED by the issue of VERA BRITAIN'S *Personal Letter to Peace Lovers*, in which she pointed out how readily people were prepared to make personal sacrifices when the nation was at war, but showed no such readiness during peace, an interesting suggestion has been made by the Islington group of the Methodist Peace Fellowship and Peace Pledge Union.

It is that the PPU group nearest the recent Scottish pit disaster "should examine the possibilities of their own group offering every possible help to those who are in need of it," and that other groups might contribute to this end.

### Cheer from Canada

"SINCEREST wishes to the London women marchers and all meetings today," read an Armistice Day telegram received in this office from Canada.

It was sent by LILLIAN WESTALL, of Ottawa, Ontario. She also tells me in her telegram that "a group are doing what they can in Ottawa."

H.S.M.

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# WE ARE MUGS, NOT MARTYRS

says HEDLEY H. GORE

**D**ON'T overwork that idea about war being made by the old men and fought by the younger generation. It may, or may not, be true, but it solves nothing and seems a rather convenient way of shifting responsibility off our shoulders, thereby making us into innocent martyrs.

We're mugs, not martyrs.

We've let things slide and have forgotten that pacifism does not mean signing a pledge and leaving it at that. No wonder some members of the tribunals look upon Peace Pledge signatories as men who would sign anything to save their skins.

"Why is it," they reasonably ask, "that the membership of pacifist organizations has increased so suddenly and so recently? Has this great awakening of consciences been due to some young men getting the 'wind up'? To what extent have these objectors been influenced by the possibility of personal danger in the front line?"

Well, what would you think if you were a militarist?

## What Have We Done?

As I see it the militarist has good reason to have these doubts. And it is my fault—and yours. What have ninety-nine percent of us been doing during the past six or seven years?

Nothing at all, except to go to an occasional meeting, read (and forget) scraps of pacifist literature and, generally speaking, have been glad to let someone else propagate peace ideas.

We signed a peace pledge, therefore we were pacifists, therefore we had done all we could. In some vague way we felt that when the total number of signatures reached a sufficiently high figure war would be thenceforth abolished by some form of magic.

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SEVERAL pints of ink on several reams of paper have not stopped the war, and

never will. Membership of the Peace Pledge Union is now 132,000; of that number probably less than the odd 2,000 have been real workers. I know that I was one of the 130,000—were you?

We have been content to let someone else do the work, reminding ourselves meanwhile that we are just as staunch pacifists at heart. That is no argument. Almost everyone in the world, including Churchill, Hitler, and tribunal members, will admit that they are pacifists "at heart."

## What Apathy Means

The recently joined young PPU member actually has a stronger case than we older pacifists. The fellow of nineteen or twenty has not had the opportunity of doing his share of the work. It still remains to be seen whether he will follow our example and grow lazy and apathetic.

I am twenty-seven; five years ago I signed one of Dick Sheppard's forms, and myself obtained four or five other signatures. For a while I attended pacifist meetings, but the attendances grew less and less—through no fault except our own individual apathy.

I even lost contact with the fellows who had signed my form. It was a shock to discover recently that two of them are prepared to fight to "defend civilization."

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A MILLION, or a ten million, PPU membership will not bring and preserve peace now nor in the future. This copy of *Peace News* will be in the hands of 30,000 readers today, and if each of us—and this means YOU—decide that from now on we are on active service we shall achieve our object.

You and I know that today the case for pacifism is stronger than ever. Let the ideas in *Peace News* sink in, and use them at every opportunity.

People will give us a hearing because they hope we're right.

And let's make another pledge right now; swear by everything worthwhile that when peace does come we shall never again let things slide—otherwise we shall be asking for it again.

# Five Souls

By W. N. EWER

We asked W. N. Ewer, who is Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, for permission to reprint this poem. He replied: "Certainly. But you must make it clear that it was written in 1914 and has no reference, or indeed relevance, to 1939."

## FIRST SOUL

*I was a peasant of the Polish plain;  
I left my plough because the message ran:—  
Russia, in danger, needed every man  
To save her from the Teuton; and was slain.  
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:  
For those who bade me fight had told me so.*

## SECOND SOUL

*I was a Tyrolean, a mountaineer,  
I gladly left my mountain home to fight  
Against the brutal, treacherous Muscovite;  
I died in Poland on a Cossack spear.  
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:  
For those who bade me fight had told me so.*

## THIRD SOUL

*I worked at Lyons at my weaver's loom,  
When suddenly the Prussian despot hurled  
His felon blow at France and at the world;  
Then I went forth to Belgium and my doom.  
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:  
For those who bade me fight had told me so.*

## FOURTH SOUL

*I owned a vineyard by the wooded Main,  
Until the Fatherland, begirt by foes  
Lusting her downfall, called me, and I rose  
Swift to the call—and died in fair Lorraine.  
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:  
For those who bade me fight had told me so.*

## FIFTH SOUL

*I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde,  
There came a sudden word of wars declared,  
Of Belgium, peaceful, helpless, unprepared,  
Asking for our aid: I joined the ranks, and died.  
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:  
For those who bade me fight had told me so.*

## The Editor's Point of View

by Humphrey S. Moore

A LETTER received from one of our own readers, and one published in *The Times* on Tuesday, serve to emphasize the need to keep up the demand for a clear statement now of the kind of peace this country desires to bring about at the earliest possible moment.

A Woldingham, Surrey, reader draws our attention to an attack on the very mild suggestions made in the British Press for such conditions of peace as a federation of nations which appeared in the French paper *Candide* on November 8. That attack concluded with the words: "There can only be one form of peace; occupation of the Rhine and destruction of the Reich's unity."

As our correspondent comments, "However fanciful the efforts of the British Press may have been, *Candide's* summing up seems to have been directly opposed to the ambitions of the majority of the British people. . . The influence of the French nation, with a fundamentally different outlook, will effectually prevent the realization of a peace in the form which most British people envisage."

## A Clear Lesson

It is to be hoped that we in this country will not be entirely helpless even if the French influence remains of this reactionary kind. (And hopes of changing that influence are reduced by the extent of the dictatorial suppression of opinion in that country, so that it is for us who are freer to influence our Ally's policy if possible.)

At all events, the lesson is clear that the demand for a reasonable, and therefore hopeful, statement of peace terms must be pressed with greater vigour while there is time. Similarly, signs in this country of a much less reactionary yet still too uncompromising determination to fight to the bitter end regardless of the prospects of peace must spur us on to greater effort.

Such was the most prominent letter in

# PEACE TERMS DEMAND GOES STEADILY ON

Tuesday's *Times*, in which Mr. W. W. Paine described the giving now of a closer and more detailed definition of our peace aims than hitherto as "mischievous." He thought "it ought to be enough for the present for us to resolve that, when we have won the war, it will be our business in conjunction with our Allies to take such measures as will render it impossible for Germany for at least a generation to renew her aggressive attacks upon her neighbours . . . and to have done once for all with the flabbiness which characterized our post-war foreign policy right down to 1935."

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THAT is, of course, a point of view, and it is something that the writer realizes (presumably) that if his country adopts it, it must not be so "flabby" as to look on while the resentment of a beaten enemy grows, that it must crush the most innocent-looking and democratic move in the direction of regaining strength, and that it must accordingly increase, rather than decrease, its huge burden of arms.

But it is as well that others should fully realize these and other implications of such a point of view before they decide to adopt it in preference to the point of view which sees that if a peace is to come that is really worth helping to bring ("worth fighting for," if you will), it can only be one that is its own defence.

It must, that is, be a peace that lasts because it is freely accepted by the peoples on both sides, and not one that can only be maintained by a state of armed preparedness that has actually been described by

our Prime Minister (in introducing conscription) as a war condition.

## "Versailles" or Real Peace

The issue, if it may be boiled down for convenience (but not altogether for clarity) to a few words is between "another Versailles"—which some would apparently not even soften to the degree of "flabbiness" which characterized the last—and a peace that the "vanquished" people no less than the "victorious" people can freely accept.

Already the Allies' apparent insistence on German capitulation as a condition of conference (which is what their replies to the Dutch-Belgian mediation offer practically amounted to) is being resented as a new Diktat—the essence of what we sum up in the convenient word "Versailles."

The effect is reported to be the welding of the majority of the German people behind their leaders as never before. That process can only be strengthened by the adoption by public opinion here and in France of the attitude expressed in the letter to *The Times* and in *Candide*.

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IT is, of course, a serious drawback to the attainment of such a peace now that it could not be said to have been accepted freely by the German people. On the other hand, we may be sure that the Nazi government would hardly accept on their behalf a peace that the German people would later want to repudiate by armed conflict.

But in any case, we can be equally sure, unless we are determined to bury our heads in the sand, that the German people will (comparatively) freely accept the continuance of the war so long as they fear that the alternative is "another Versailles."

From which it follows that, if they are to be persuaded to refuse to continue the war (and therefore, to overthrow their government), it will be most quickly done by removing that fear.

But that fear will no more be removed by fine pictures of the sort of world we are at present prepared only to dream about than will our fear of Herr Hitler's intentions be removed now by more promises of the order of those we have seen so easily broken.

## The Present Need

Not only a clear repudiation of any intentions at all resembling "Versailles" is necessary, but as close and detailed a set of peace aims as may be without prejudicing the free negotiation that must follow when the general lines of settlement have won sufficient support and confidence.

Moreover, that general statement must be such that it would, in fact, win German support and confidence in our aims. Whatever its details, it must be, in effect, an unmistakably generous offer of partnership in a world redeemed from imperialism and in which its natural resources are shared.

And would it be quite impossible to express it still more effectively by some kind of reassuring deeds? Such, for example, as the lifting of the blockade—at least so far as food is concerned?

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THERE is, then, a triple need for a statement of peace terms at the earliest possible moment.

(Continued on page 5)



# Few Political Objectors Get a Square Deal at C.O.s' Tribunals

## HOW ABSENCE OF RULING HAS LED TO MUDDLE

This week's survey of the tribunals for conscientious objectors deals with the position of those claiming exemption on "political" grounds.

**T**HE 1939 provisions for COs are the result of the 1914-1918 objectors' resolution, and because these provisions satisfied the known demands (those of 1914-1918), they were thought satisfactory by all parties in the Commons.

So writes a correspondent; but he goes on to point out that these provisions do not, in fact, meet the case of the political objector. Our correspondent wonders whether "a new 'exasperating waste of time' (Mr. Chamberlain) and a new martyrdom, this time of the political objector, will be necessary."

### Can Be Genuine

While this may be the effect of the present attitude of most of the tribunals, it need not be so. It depends on the tribunals themselves, for the National Service (Armed Forces) Act does not attempt to define "conscientious objection"—with the result that many tribunals seem to think it is synonymous with religious beliefs.

Yet, as two members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Peace Committee of the Society of Friends point out,

"It is possible to hold perfectly sound objections to war based on what are called political and economic grounds. If these are held so strongly as to withstand all pressure they indicate in our opinion a genuine conscientious objection as good as one based on biblical or theological views."

Let us see how the different tribunals look at it.

**T**HE only tribunal that appears to have stated explicitly that a political objection can be valid is that for the South-Western area, meeting at Bristol.

In one case the chairman said that an applicant's objections were largely political, but they were held with such intensity that it would be possible to call them conscientious convictions. He was accordingly placed on the COs' register without conditions. It was the second case of this nature to be dealt with in this way on the day in question.

On Thursday last, however, a Fascist who appeared before the Bristol tribunal was placed on the Military Service Register. The chairman said:

"We have ruled on previous occasions that a political objection made by a conscientious objector within the meaning of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, if held with sufficient intensity, can properly be regarded as an objection based on religious or moral conviction. But each case must be taken separately."

## PEACE DEMAND GOES ON

(continued from page 4)

First, such a peace as it would outline is the only one worth trying to win. Second, the clarification of such a position on our side is the most likely way to win it. Third, the longer the war goes on the less hope there is of such values of decency as it expresses being kept alive to serve in the making of the peace that must come sometime.

There is need, and the National Peace Council's Appeal for a Declaration of Peace Terms provides the opportunity for us to do our individual parts to meet it.

It may be that the time will come in due course for a national petition along such lines for personal signature by the electorate (instead of for endorsement by organizations, as the Peace Council's appeal is). It may be, too, that more direct action is called for to supplement this demand—as suggested by various readers on another page.

But, for the time being, at any rate, there is still very great need for the patient, unspectacular, but essential spadework which can only be accomplished by persistently putting the general demand for peace terms now before our fellows wherever we meet them.

The applicant objected to fighting in the present war, but not necessarily in any other war.

Yet at the London tribunal the chairman dismisses such cases with remarks such as: "Only a political and ethical objection has been given." For the most part members of this tribunal assume that a conscience is necessarily a perquisite of members of the Church, although one member of the ILP has secured complete exemption.

It is the same at Cambridge, where the chairman defined conscientious objection as being based on "religious or moral grounds." Yet in certain cases the tribunal has shown some ability to understand that conscience and religion are not necessarily synonymous.

At Leeds an objector who bases his case on Christian grounds and who has a minister to testify for him is reasonably sure of conditional exemption; but the agnostic or free-thinker is treated with hostility from the outset.

At Edinburgh on Friday an objector who was a member of the Independent Labour Party was removed from the COs' register.

Probably the extreme in this direction was reached at Manchester, where the chairman declared that "there is no such thing as a political objection admissible under the Act."

**I**N the case of Welsh objectors the question appeared in a rather different light.

Some members of the Welsh Nationalist Party (which was described by one applicant as a pacifist party) were given unconditional exemption at the first session of the North Wales tribunal at Caernarvon. Most of these applicants also objected on religious grounds, but the question of Welsh Nationalism was discussed by the tribunal and does not appear to have had any adverse effect on the decisions in these cases.

### Request From Wales

This "twin" objection was also made by a Welshman who appeared before the South-Eastern Tribunal, meeting at Southwark last week. The tribunal decided to adjourn the application so that the CO could, if he desired, call further witnesses.

The applicant was told that the tribunal had no power to transfer the case to Caernarvon, so that it could be tried by the people of his own country. (A request that Welshmen should be allowed this facility has been made in a letter sent to the Minister of Labour by Councillor D. Roberts, a member of the North Wales executive of the Peace Pledge Union.)

**H**ERE, then, is sufficient evidence that political objectors are penalized in some cases.

The root of the trouble is the impossibility of measuring conscientious objection. This in itself makes the tribunals' task difficult enough; but the absence of any guidance as to what kinds of objection were intended to be allowed under the Act is bound to lead to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs where an applicant whose case would be upheld by one tribunal is turned down by another.

The lot of the political objector is meanwhile bound to be an uncertain one.

It may be clarified when the Appellate tribunal gets to work, for the Ministry of Labour has appealed against the decision given in the case of George Plume, secretary of the London ILP Guild of Youth. This applicant was given conditional exemption in spite of the political grounds of his objection—thanks large to Fenner Brockway's testimony to his sincerity. This will be a test case.

In the meantime it has been suggested that more attention should be paid to this type of objection at the mock tribunals which are being held in various parts of the country.

## DECISIONS IN BRIEF

**I**N the following classification of results of hearings at various tribunals, A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service:

### ABERDEEN

(November 14 and 15)	
A	3
B	7
C	7
D	1
Total	18

### CAERNARVON

(November 14, 15, 16, and 17)	
A	19
B	37
C	1
D	4
Total	60

### CAMBRIDGE

(November 14, 15, and 16)	
A	26
B	16
C	12
D	4
Total	58

### EDINBURGH

(November 16 and 17)	
A	2
B	9
C	4
D	12
Total	27

### LONDON

(November 10 to 17)	
A	6
B	58
C	34
D	12
Total	110

### SOUTH-EASTERN

(November 9 to 15)	
A	18
B	29
C	12
D	2
Total	61

### SOUTH-WESTERN

(Last week's sessions)	
A	24
B	24
C	10
D	9
Total	67

### BIRMINGHAM

(November 14)	
A	—
B	21
C	2
D	—
Total	23

### MANCHESTER

(November 2 to 10 and 14 to 16)	
A	32
B	49
C	18
D	40
Total	139

## They say, "Stop the War!" Still More Labour Demands

**D**EMANDS that the Labour Party should cease to support the Government's war policy, and suggestions that an armistice should be called, to be followed by a peace conference, are still growing within the Labour and trade union movement.

Resolutions to this effect, too numerous to report in detail, have been adopted recently by the following organizations:

### Labour Parties, &c.

Wembley Borough; Carshalton; St. Rollux division, Glasgow; Barnstaple division; Werton-super-Mare; Alwoodley (Leeds) and Pudsey and Otley divisions; Beeston (Leeds) Labour League of Youth; Glasgow Burgh; joint meeting of Childs Hill and Golders Green Wards of Hendon Labour Party; Beddington and Wallington; Finchley and Friern Barnet.

### Trades Unions, &c.

National Executive of Union of Post Office Workers; Perth branch, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers; Sheffield No. 2 branch, Railway Clerks' Association; Scunthorpe branch, Boilermakers' Union; Holloway group, Co-operative Insurance Society Agents; Dalmarnock 7-36 branch, Transport and General Workers' Union; Southwark branch, Amalgamated Engineering Union; Dundee branch, Shop Assistants' Union; Abergavenny Trades Council; Ipswich Trades Council and Labour Party; Stretford Trades Council; Sutton and district Trades Council; Govan branch, Transport and General Workers' Union; Yeovil branch, National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.

### Co-operative Organizations

Swansea Central Co-operative Guild; North Battersea Women's Co-operative Guild.

## WHERE INDIA STANDS

### Nehru's Message to London Meeting

**P**ANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, the Indian leader, sent the following message to a public meeting held in London by the India League last Thursday:

"Today, as before, India holds fast to democracy, freedom and peace and condemns all aggression. If the war is for these purposes the Government must state their aims clearly and agree to end fascism and imperialism and support self-determination."

"It must declare the independence of India and act up to that declaration. Then all freedom-loving forces in the world will rally and establish a new order."

"India cannot support the preservation of imperialism."

Nehru's plea was supported by the chairman of the meeting, the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, MP, who felt that India might instil new life into the democracies by her example.

Professor Harold J. Laski said that the alleged communal difficulties in India were largely manufactured and fostered by the British Government as an excuse to continue its rule. While he was as much in favour of destroying Hitlerism as anyone, part of that destruction must be the end of empire and the granting of freedom to India.

### MPs' Ignorance

Wilfred Roberts, MP, declared his horror at the very scanty knowledge of the average MP about India.

V. K. Krishnamenon said that India's desire for freedom was not "taking advantage of the war situation," but had for long been part of Indian policy. He declared that the resignation of the Congress Ministries was the first step, deliberate and considered, in non-co-operation. India would make her contribution of national sovereignty for freedom and peace, but not for imperialism.

Mr. D. R. Grenfell, MP, and Mr. Arthur Greenwood, MP (Deputy Leader of the Opposition) were billed to speak but neither appeared.

### Pacifist Community Planned for London

A community in a working-class district of London is being planned.

It is to be conducted on a basis of Christian pacifism, and special importance is attached to the need for those taking part—men and women—to make it a matter of personal conviction.

The community is an outcome of the Pacifist Service Bureau and subject to its approval.

Those interested should communicate with Joan Bell, at the Dick Sheppard Club, Binney Street, W.1.

## Co-op Party's Appeal

**A**T a conference organized by the political Council of Nottingham Co-operative Party approval was given to a resolution urging the Labour Party to withdraw its support from the present imperialist war and demanding the calling of an immediate world peace conference.

### Armistice Call at Glasgow Meeting

At a large meeting (over 1,200 people being present) held in Glasgow on Armistice Day, under the auspices of the Women's International League and The Union of Democratic Control, and addressed by Vera Brittain, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"This meeting calls upon His Majesty's Government to declare an armistice now; to state what consideration it is prepared to make towards the realization of a just and lasting peace; and to invite belligerents and neutrals to a Conference where the necessary problems, political, economic, and social, will receive sympathetic consideration."

Copies of the resolution were sent to the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, C. R. Attlee, Sir Archibald Sinclair, George Lansbury, D. Lloyd George, Miss E. Rathbone, James Maxton, and all Glasgow Members of Parliament.

### Teachers Write to Premier

Teachers evacuated to Brentwood have sent a letter to the Prime Minister urging him "to state the minimum terms upon which this country would be willing to attend a conference under neutral auspices for the negotiation of a peace acceptable to the reasonable people on both sides, and to this end to accept the offer of the Dutch and Belgian sovereigns."



# Women Accept the Challenge

By JOHN BARCLAY

LAST week I gave reasons why I believed that women must inevitably oppose war. If only a lead could be given, I said I felt sure that women would respond.

Greatly daring, I attempted to outline a scheme for a London march of women on December 16 and asked for those who supported the idea to write to me. I almost wish I hadn't!

The replies are pouring in by every post and come from all parts of the country. It is quite impossible to send replies to individuals, but I shall be acknowledging each card or letter in a day or two and am going straight ahead with the plans.

## The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

As I said last week, I am not a woman and I do not want to be the organizer of this great women's campaign, which I now know will extend far beyond the simple outline I proposed. I want a fully qualified woman or group of women to offer to undertake what may prove to be a colossal task: nothing short of mobilizing a world opinion of women against War.

If this could be done, War would cease for ever, as it would be quite impossible for men to fight unsupported by the women, and, in fact, against the declared intention of women to "frustrate their knavish tricks."

FIRST things first, however. During the next few days (I am writing this on Tuesday, November 21) I hope to complete the skeleton of the plan for a great London rally. To make this skeleton work and to clothe it, will be the job of small groups everywhere.

To assist them I am drawing up a short draft giving the necessary information and the essential details which must be observed by all if the plan is to succeed and be effective.

It is quite clear that enthusiasm will carry the day but above all it must be a controlled, silent crowd that finally marches through London. This is no stunt but a great opportunity to express the

## University News

### Oxford Address on Federal Union

LAST week the Oxford University Pacifist Association was addressed by Patrick Ransome, one of the founders of Federal Union a year ago, and now head of its research department.

He said that the advantages of Federal Union were that it ended the curse of national sovereignty, it increased individual liberty, it was the only system which had worked in the past, and it was the only possible way of fitting Germany into the fabric of Western civilization.

He urged that Pacifists should support Federal Union, or at least look into its possibilities carefully, as it would become an important topic as the time for making peace came nearer. But he was fully aware of the danger of regarding it a panacea for the post-war troubles, as had been the lot of the League idea during the last war.

### P.P.U. Band Needs Support

Some members of the Peace Pledge Union are forming an orchestral band. Keen interest in the project has been shown in the Provinces but the response in London has been rather disappointing.

The band urgently requires violins, horns, oboes, bassoons, violas, Eb alto and Bb tenor saxophones. Other instrumentalists are also welcome. Particulars may be obtained from Ernest Calver, 63 Gowan Avenue, Fulham, S.W.6.

### "An Opportunity"

To the Editor of "Peace News"

I was sorry to see the "Warning" in *Peace News* (page 6, November 17) referring to a man who had "posed as the former secretary of another region." Surely this should have been headed "an opportunity" for translating in action the power of forgiveness and love.

Who is this man? What is the underlying cause of his "pose"? Cannot pacifists in the Bournemouth and New Forest Region of the PPU trust him and give him time to make restitution?

We write—I speak for myself and some others—appealing to the better side of the German people. Let us appeal to this man's better side.

DAVID A. PEAT.

Borrers Platt, Ditchling.

desire of millions of women in all parts of the world to stop War at once. The more silent the march the more impressive it will be.

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WHAT then can you do to help in the initial stages? May I suggest that everyone who supports the idea and wants to give their full quota should immediately:

(a) Give the widest publicity to the scheme by talking to friends and by writing letters to those with whom they have any influence.

(b) Send me the names of prominent women doctors, professors, ministers of religion, councillors, social workers and others who would be sympathetic, and I will circularize them with details.

(c) Mobilize local support in women's guilds and churches and arrange contingents to take part in the Silent March.

(d) Let me have small donations to cover the cost of postage and printing so that the funds of the Peace Pledge Union may not be depleted.

You will read this on or after Friday, November 24, which means that we have three weeks in which to complete all the details. This is long enough if everybody will work tremendously hard in the meantime and will not confuse the issues by suggesting what may be admirable ideas but which cannot be fitted into this first demonstration. All groups of the Peace Pledge Union will be circularized and *Peace News* will carry the latest information week by week.

All letters and postcards should be addressed to me marked "Women's March" and will be dealt with as quickly as possible.

Fix your minds on the idea that war can be stopped; let the vision inspire you so that you become determined to see that it shall be stopped. Women can stop the war and all wars.

## What P.P.U. Groups are Doing

THE Oaklea Allotment (market gardening) Scheme at Welwyn is now getting thoroughly established under the supervision of the Dick Sheppard Centre at Bayswater.

There are vacancies for a few men, but they must be prepared for hard work and hard living conditions (relative to town life!) and the groups from which they come will be asked to provide the 10s. 6d. per head per week which is needed for their bare keep.

The Centre also has a social work plan under organization for the Paddington district. They have found a dis-used shop with large flat and having worked things out very carefully they are now sounding sympathetic friends to see what regular support they can expect before definitely signing the lease.

If they take this building they will be able to run a Canteen and club for unemployed and old age pensioners in the lower part of the building and in the flat they could house about eight would-be social workers.

Further details regarding both schemes are obtainable from Miss E. M. Dighton, Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway, London, W.2.

### Activity in Churchill's Constituency

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL'S bellicose behaviour is by no means endorsed by all his constituents.

In Chingford, which forms a large part of his constituency, the PPU groups have been very active lately. Ten thousand leaflets were distributed through the medium of the Chingford Advertiser, and has always been most helpful and sympathetic to the pacifist cause.

A new group has been formed in South Chingford and *Peace News* selling is a regular feature in the locality on Saturdays. One gentleman paid 2s. for a copy of the *Armistice Issue*.

An adult school has been started and meets every Tuesday.

### Andrew Stewart at Peckham

ANDREW STEWART addressed a meeting at Peckham last week which was presided over by the Rev. C. E. Fisher. Mr. Stewart was very well received by the audience, which numbered nearly 150. His subject was "Should We Offer Peace Terms?"

Mr. James Lucas, late Mayor of Camberwell, said it was a joy to him that the meeting had taken place.

### Proposed Southend Community

IT is proposed to establish in the Southend district a society for communal agriculture and light industry.

Various sites have been visited in order to secure a small-holding for co-operative development. This will be for the immediate employment of such pacifists who find it necessary owing to the pressure of events.

Anyone interested should write to any of the

following, who, amongst others, are prepared to form a provisional committee: Mr. Clover, 95 Ridgeway, Westcliff-on-Sea; Mr. Lamb, 34 Retreat Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; Mr. Cecil Cox, 37 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; Mr. Cavanagh, 39 Beaufort Street, Southchurch; or Mr. Vincent, 37 Anerley Road, Westcliff-on-Sea.

### Wessex Annual Meeting

THE Wessex Pacifist Council held its third annual general meeting at Bristol last Saturday. At the business meeting, a constitution, which will be circulated to all groups in the area in due course, was ratified, and officers were elected. It was also agreed, with the sanction of the National Council, that the Wessex Pacifist Council should act as the Area Council of the PPU "provided that only PPU members should vote on PPU business." (This was approved by the National Council at its meeting on Saturday.)

An open meeting followed, at which D. J. Weight was the chairman and Harold Bing the speaker.

The meeting was extremely encouraging, both because of the excellent representation of groups and the atmosphere of vitality and fellowship which prevailed.

### Wolverhampton Welcomes Stuart Morris

AN unexpectedly large number of people filled the YWCA Hall, at Wolverhampton, on November 9, to hear Stuart Morris speak on "What are we fighting for?"

For over an hour Mr. Morris spoke to the very attentive audience. If it were not so tragic, he said, it would be easy for pacifists to say "I told you so," because pacifists had always contended that great armaments led to war. He also pointed out that the British claim to be fighting this war on a high moral plane went by the board in view of the betrayal of Poland, and it was senseless to continue the fighting.

### Maurice Rowntree at Newcastle

ABOUT seventy were present at the joint meeting of the PPU and the FoR, held in the Friends' Meeting House, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on Armistice Day.

Maurice Rowntree, in his address, compared the phrases now being bandied about with those used in the last war.

It is said that "we must destroy Hitlerism." Of course, it is necessary to destroy Hitlerism, but it is for the German people in their country, and we in our own, to do that, he said. To make war has the result of establishing unity among the Germans and stabilizing the very regime we detest. We can crush Hitlerism in Germany not by starving and killing its men, women and children, but by convincing them that there is justice still in Europe and that we are willing to co-operate in upholding it.

### Student Members in Exeter

THERE are 20 PPU member at St. Luke's College, Exeter, most of them having been evacuated from St. Mark's, London.

On Armistice Day, they met the Exeter group at the YMCA when Rev. Donald Fraser presided and Mr. Taylor, one of the visiting students, gave an informal talk.

This was the second of these meetings and it is hoped to continue them at close intervals throughout the winter months, when special invitations are to be sent to students who are willing to hear the case for Pacifism, and it is hoped will eventually become members.

### Edgware Open-air Meeting

THE Edgware group held an open-air meeting at Oakley Avenue, Burnt Oak, on Armistice Day. The meeting was most successful in that it was indicative of the steadily growing anti-war feeling after weeks of confusion and bewilderment.

Large numbers gave an interested hearing to the speakers, and although some heckling did occur, the spirit of the audience at all times manifested a great willingness to listen to constructive peace proposals.

The meeting lasted almost three hours, during which time over forty *Peace News* were sold with the addition of many pamphlets.

### Solihull's New Secretary

MR. ERIC SHEAVES, of 122 Widney Lane, Solihull, is now secretary of the Solihull (Birmingham) group and all enquiries should be sent to him.

### Colne's Crowning Effort

THE Colne group has not been in existence for more than six or seven weeks, but already their activities have included the distribution of 16,000 leaflets in Nelson and Colne in conjunction with the Nelson group, a scheme for entertaining evacuated school children, various other minor activities, and a crowning effort when Wilfred Wellock addressed a crowded meeting under the chairmanship of the Mayor of Nelson.

### Milborne Port Peace Group

MILBORNE Port, Dorset, has a Peace Group of some fifty members out of a population of 1,600. Meetings are held fortnightly and are always well attended, some members walking the three miles from Sherborne and back. Anyone interested in the group should get into touch with Harry W. Brown, The Chestnuts Milborne Port, Sherborne, Dorset.

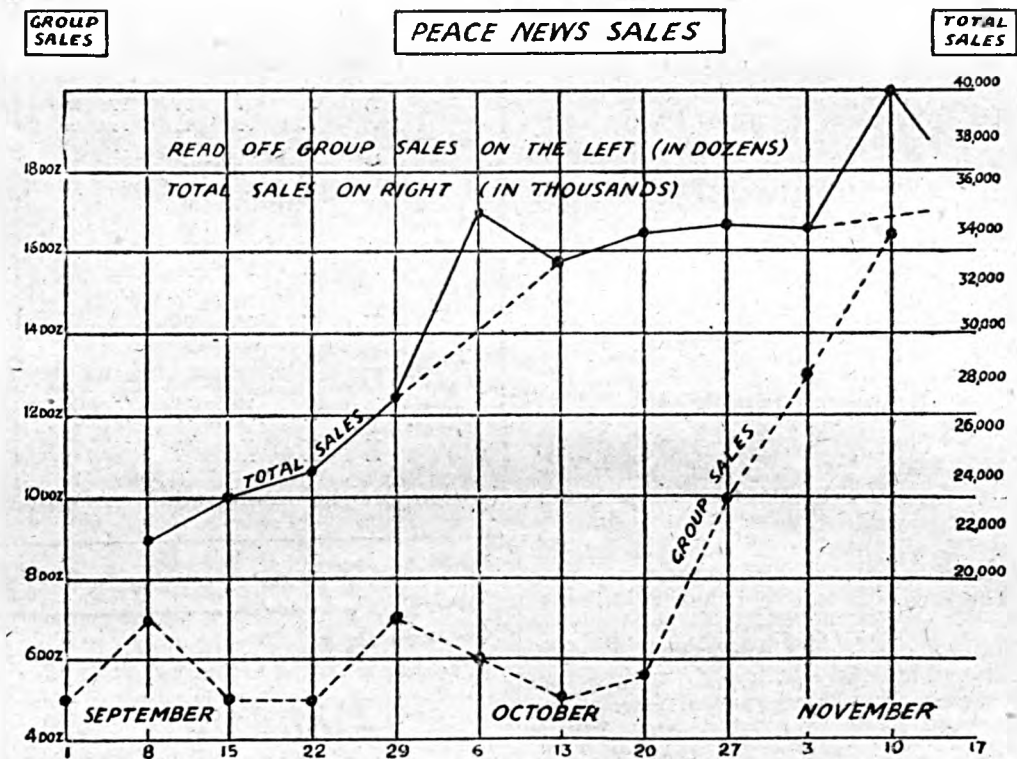
## London Weekly Meetings

in Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street (late Thomas Street, opposite Selfridge's) on Tuesdays at 7 p.m. (refreshments available from 6.15 p.m.). All welcome.

Nov. 28.—Dr. C. E. M. Joad on "COs and Tribunals."

Dec. 5.—BUSINESS MEETING for Group Leaders and Secretaries only.

Dec. 12.—Mr. Kimber, representing Federal Union, interrogated by a PPU member.



## A "Peace News" Sales Chart

By Dr. JOHN HEWETSON

Group leader, Chelsea PPU Group

WITH a view to increasing the sales of *Peace News* I have found it very useful to keep a graphic record of the weekly sales—both total sales and group sales—which is reproduced above.

In this way it is possible to detect immediately any lag between an increase in total sales and group sales.

Increased sales are brought about not by any one method but by the application of a number of methods each of which, by itself, would do little to increase the sales, thus:

1. Have more sellers;
2. Sell on more than one day a week. (Always sell in the same place, however, on Friday, so that people know they can obtain it in that place on that day.)
3. Sell in several crowded points in the locality.
4. Sellers should shout "Peace News," so that those who don't buy at least know that *Peace News* is being sold.
5. Order more copies each week and go on selling until they are sold. This is the most important point.
6. If there is any member of the group who has the time he might try selling in the centre of London (or any big town), where the local group is probably limited by lack of man-power and time, rather than by lack of buyers. I find that excess copies can always be sold in this way at Trafalgar Square, Ludgate Circus, Tottenham Court Road, &c.
7. Individuals should carry a few copies round with them. At the conclusion of an argument one can almost always sell one; and one can argue at lunch, in the tube, on the bus, in shops—everywhere, in fact.
8. Sell to football crowds and at open-air meetings.

The effect of the application of all these methods is shown on the graph at October 20 onwards.

Meanwhile, if the graph doesn't rise as steeply as it should, find out the reason why.



## Dates for Your Diary

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Today (Friday)

**LONDON, W.C.1;** 6.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; "My Experiences Before the Tribunal," George Plume and others who have been before the Tribunal. Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors.

**PORTSMOUTH;** 7 p.m. Central Hall, Fratton Road; Vera Brittain; PPU.

**BARNSTAPLE;** 7.30 p.m. 92 Newport Road; Richard Bishop; PPU.

**GLASGOW;** 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Baston Street; Tom Taylor on "Legal Aspects to Armed Forces Act"; No Conscription League.

**LONDON, W.C.1;** 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Maurice Rowntree on "Towards Freedom"; PPU.

**NEW BARNET;** 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Leicester Road; Mock Tribunal; PPU.

**PINNER;** 8 p.m. Vagabond's Hall; Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison and Evan Williams (chairman); PPU.

### Tomorrow (Saturday)

**MANCHESTER;** 10.30 a.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; G. R. Swaine on "Peace Through the Schools"; PPU Teachers' Group.

**BEXHILL;** 3 p.m. Victoria Hall; John Barclay and Kenneth Wray (chairman); PPU.

**CROYDON;** 3 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; M. Abley and Raymond Winch; PPU.

**LEATHERHEAD;** 3.15 p.m. Methodist Hall, Church Road; Desmond Tester (film actor) on "Why I am a CO"; also E. C. Harvey; PPU.

**WANDSWORTH;** 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 59 High Street; Mock Tribunal; chairman, J. Allen Skinner; PPU.

**Saturday and Sunday, November 25 and 26**

**WESTHOUGHTON;** Friends' Meeting House, Wigan Road; lecture weekend on "The Causes of War"; Saturday, 2.45 p.m., Councillor A. Gaskell; 6 p.m., Albert Smith; Sunday, 6 p.m., Edgar Upperton; PPU and Society of Friends.

### Sunday, November 26

**BIRMINGHAM;** 2.30 p.m. Priory Rooms, Upper Priory; Peace Rally; Andrew Stewart, Jim Simmons and Sydney Cnbeer (chairman); No Conscription League.

**BOURNEMOUTH;** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; debate with Left Book Club; PPU.

**PLYMOUTH;** 3 p.m. Swarthmore Hall; Richard Bishop; PPU.

**IORSHAM;** 3.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Worthing Road; Councillor W. Elliot on "A Constructive Peace Policy"; Chairman: Frank Moreton; PPU.

**HASTINGS;** 4.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; John Barclay; PPU.

**TORQUAY;** 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Richard Bishop; PPU.

### Monday, November 27

**EXMOUTH;** 6.15 p.m. YMCA; Richard Bishop; PPU.

**LIVERPOOL;** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street (back of Art Gallery); John Barclay; PPU.

**BAYSWATER;** 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Dr. Balla on "A Free Czechoslovakia and a Free Europe"; also Czech songs and poems; PPU.

**EXETER;** 8 p.m. YMCA; Richard Bishop; PPU.

### Tuesday, November 28

**TOWER HILL;** 12.30 p.m. open-air meeting; Rev. Pat Figgis; City PPU group.

**SALCOMBE;** 6 p.m. "Sandhills"; Richard Bishop; PPU.

**PRESTON;** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, St. George's Road; John Barclay; for all members and friends in the district; PPU.

### Wednesday, November 29

**RHOSLANECHRUGOG;** 7 p.m. "Penael" Baptist Chapel; Stuart Morris (chairman) and Rev. D. Wyre Lewis; admission by ticket; local groups obtain tickets from secretary of Rhos group; PPU.

**EASTBOURNE;** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wish Road; David Spreckley and W. Bing (chairman); PPU.

**LANCASTER;** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Hall, Fenton Street; John Barclay; PPU.

**BAYSWATER;** 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Series on Russia—No. 2: Maggie Jordan on "Care of Women and Children"; PPU.

### Thursday, November 30

**LIVERPOOL;** 4.30 p.m. Students' Union, University; Andrew Stewart and Arthur Lewis (chairman); students' meeting.

### Friday, December 1

**GLASGOW;** 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Baston Street; Mock Tribunal; Peter Marshall (chairman); No Conscription League.

**GLASGOW;** 7.30 p.m. ILP Hall, 207 Rutherglen Road; formation of Gorbals and Hutchesontown Group; D. G. Macrae; No Conscription League.

**GLASGOW;** 7.30 p.m. ILP Room, 548 London Road; group meeting; speaker: A. Young CO; No Conscription League.

**LONDON, W.C.1;** 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; speaker on the Friends' Service Council; PPU.

### Saturday, December 2

**BUNGAY, Suffolk;** 8 p.m. Centenary Rooms, Chaucer Street; Stuart Morris and Rev. P. Russell Johnson (chairman); Bungay Pacifist Society (PPU and For).

### Sunday, December 3

**EPSOM;** 3 p.m. Sherwood School, 6 Burgh Heath Road; John Barclay and Cecil Heath (chairman); PPU.

## LETTERS

### "From the Same Point of View"

I HAVE just received, from a German (Aryan) friend of mine, the following message:

"Being for some time in Yugoslavia, I take the opportunity just to drop you a line in order to show that even under the prevailing unhappy conditions I do not forget our friendship and that no hatred and collective insanity ever shall interfere. Please do not reply to this postal, for reasons I'll explain to you later. In case you should by any mood of fate become prisoner of war in Germany, try to get in contact with me. I, or if I am unable to do something, my wife will do all we can to help you in such case. I sincerely hope that you are seeing things from the same point of view as I do and that after this cursed war our friendship may continue."

DAVID B. GREEN.

20 Fitzjohn's Avenue,  
Hampstead, N.W.3.

### Now is the Time!

Anyone who knows the British working class movement can tell that spreading rapidly from below is the cry: "Stop the War."

This is a terrible thing—for our Government. For war today is not fought merely by an army at the front: it is an industry which requires the services of every section of the workers. So the Government will very shortly be reduced to the old methods of arousing the necessary war fervour.

What the "just cause" will be it is hard to say. Probably to revenge some real or "put up" atrocity. And then we shall really learn the power of the mighty 20th century mediums of propaganda.

A few bombs dropped on either side may (until war weariness and revolution appear) present the warmongers with a glorious opportunity for creating that war fervour so manifestly lacking amongst the British, French and German peoples. The E.P.A. and other dictators' decrees now on the Statute Book will then be put to good use, making it far harder to work against the war.

So let us act with all our strength and passion to stop the real massacre before it commences.

"A MEMBER OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY."

Manchester.

To advocate peace is the duty of every serious thinking citizen in view of the terrible cost and human sacrifice caused by war.

Those of us who advocate peace will be criticized, but when we view the sorrow and anguish brought into the homes of the people, the destruction of innocent lives by bombers, and the extermination of humanity by weapons of war we must strive with all our might to end this terror.

Before it is too late, the call for peace must be made and the nations of the world brought together in conference in order to straighten out all the difficulties and bring happiness to war-stricken Europe.

PATRICK AGNEW.  
MP (Labour) for South Armagh,  
Northern Ireland.

### Points from Letters on

### STEPS TO PEACE

Would it not be timely to send out to Russia an Embassy of Peaceful Reconstruction? Such a mission might, amongst other matters, ascertain (a) some reliable knowledge in regard to Russia's aims in world relationship; (b) to what extent, co-operation to establish economic emancipation and world-wide peace is possible between Russia and other countries. This Embassy might also assure the Russian Government of the opinion in the country which is earnestly seeking a peaceful method of social reconstruction.—G. NORMAN ROBBINS, "St. Kenelm's," Silverlands Lane, Oldbury, near Birmingham.

Would it not be possible for the peace organizations throughout the world to call an international conference on as wide a scale as possible? There is no doubt that solutions, practical solutions, would be arrived at, and suggestions would be forthcoming for a basis for a truce in the present struggle and the structure for a permanent peace.—A. E. BLOOMER, 162 Derrydown Road, Perry Barr, Birmingham 22.

I consider that great stress should be put upon the question of disarmament at the present time, for in the minds of most people today the only barrier to negotiation with the German Government as now constituted is that the Allies cannot or will not place any confidence in the assurances of that Government. I submit that if it could be shown that the present German Government would accept disarmament measures along with the other nations, then the view that Germany does now desire a lasting peace, would be substantiated and the barrier to negotiation removed.—DENIS MELHUISS, 266 Kenton Road, Kenton, Middx.

There is, I think, a danger that Pacifism in this country may degenerate under the stress of War conditions into a negative passivism. We must act at once if this conflict is to be stopped. I suggest that resort be had to the hunger-strike tactics so often applied by Mahatma Gandhi. Will not a hundred or two hundred pacifists volunteer to engage in a mass hunger-strike to touch the conscience of England and compel the Government to reconsider its position?—JOHN CLEARY-BAKER, 31 St. Paul's Hill, Winchester, Hants.

Both the National Peace Council and the Labour Party have published a proposed declaration of British Peace Terms, which in very large measure are compatible with the Pacifist viewpoint. It seems necessary to me to point out that this Government is Conservative, Capitalist and Fascist in outlook, and although it might accept the Peace Terms verbally, it would in fact do its utmost to sabotage any Peace Treaty which did not allow the continuance of its own Imperialist monopoly. The prime object of the National Peace Council, the Labour Party and the Pacifist Movement should therefore be, not pressure on this Government to accept the Peace Terms, but the turning out of the Government and replacing it with a Government which would have as its foundation stone World Peace instead of the maintenance of Capitalism.—R. H. REASON, Grove House, New Road, Holport, Berks.

The vague, negative and unhelpful reply of the British and French Governments to the recent offer of mediation makes it only too plain that they are well aware that, whatever the German people did in the way of evacuation of recently conquered territory; disarmament; the provision of pledges; or even change of Government, the terms they are prepared to offer are such as, by reason of their one-sided selfishness, cannot be acceptable to an unconquered German nation.

Were they willing to offer sensible, generous and attractive terms they would have everything to gain by making them public now, if only for the inducement they might offer to the German people to forsake their allegiance to Hitler should he prove an obstacle to their enjoyment of the blessings, not only of peace, but also of justice and prosperity, which the terms held out to them.—TAVISTOCK, Cairnsmore, Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire.

### The Good Life and War Resistance

Tolstoy once asked a man, "Why are some farmers kind to their servants and others unkind?" "It's quite simple," the man replied. "Some live for God, for their souls; others live for their belly."

Can we get clear about war? Tolstoy is quite clear.

At a Labour meeting at Wimbledon a while ago the speaker asked was it in the interest of the Labour Party to go to war? (The Spanish Civil War was then on.) I interjected the remark that that was not the question. The question should be, "Is it right to take life?" When the individual conscience settles the question, "Is it right to kill?" the other question comes up for decision.

The speaker said to me, "What would you do?" I said I should do what Kagawa, the

Japanese Christian, would do. He says, "God is love. If I believe in God, I love; if I love, I have no hate; if I have no hate, I have no enemy. Whom can I fight?" Love finds the way.

HENRY EDGCOMBE.

30 The Downs, Wimbledon, S.W.20.

### Imperialism & Pacifism

That our imperial government has often been animated, not by mere desire to exploit the native, but by a genuine desire to govern him well, I again refer Mr. Norman to Sir F. D. Lugard's book on our Colonial Government in Africa. A noble Imperialism of this kind can work in harmony with the most enlightened principles of Christianity.

There is nothing to prevent an Imperialism being socialistic as well as pacific. We do not attempt to ensure, for instance, that the government of New Zealand shall not be socialistic.

In response to Mr. Gerald Bailey, I doubt whether so heterogeneous a mass of peoples and religions as is India can attain to the "rapid realization of self-government" with or without our assistance, or international control; and a necessary preliminary qualification for a people being invited to join a body of international control should be, first of all, their own proved capacity for a fine national control of their own internal government. I doubt whether the Nazis have proved this!

ALAN HADFIELD.

16 Park Parade, Harrogate.

May I beg the courtesy of a few lines to reply to Reginald Reynolds? I am not denying that the method by which Russia has obtained part of the old Polish State is regrettable. I agree that the people's own judgment is the only standard of what is "good."

True as this is, however, Mr. Reynolds will have to admit that the peasants are relatively better off under Russia than under the Polish capitalists. The abolition of racial prejudice and persecution is alone a proof of this. A totalitarian education is bad, but the knowledge given may be used and broadened later in a struggle for freedom.

ALBERT MCCARTHY.

14 Colebrook Avenue,  
Shirley, Southampton.

### Community

I wonder whether any Peace News readers are interested in the establishment of a Pacifist Friary—that is, a community living under rule, accepting Pacifist principles as the foundation of their life's guidance, and at the same time not hedged in by any theological dogmas that restrict brotherhood and comradeship the one with another—a community run otherwise on lines similar to that of a Franciscan or any other religious order.

Of course the main point of such an order would be to enable members to devote themselves unreservedly to pacifist propaganda.

ST. JOHN H. M. JONES.

The Fox Inn, Kelham, Notts.

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### LITERATURE

"DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF MAN and Citizens" by French Sovereign People (1793). 3½d. post paid. 1st Edition. Books on every subject. Engravings, Prints, etc.—Bookhouse, 22 Colehill Lane, Fulham, S.W.6. Ful. 7587.

### MISCELLANEOUS

COMMUNITY. Large cottage, country, 30 miles from London, available for experiment in community life.—Apply E. Banfield, Youth House, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1.

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### RELIGIOUS

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### SITUATIONS

#### Vacant

PACIFIST WORKING-MAN, bache'or, self only, requires housekeeper, similar views.—Colling, 19 Flora Street, Spennymoor, C. Durham.

WANTED, man for gent's hairdressing. Must be competent to take charge and work; 11s.; new business. Would employ CO.—Box 250, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

#### Wanted

CO RADIO ENGINEER (25), A.M.I.R.E. (USA) requires any radio or electrical work. Design, development or services, &c. London.—Box 256, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

CO (27), Cambridge Graduate, requires rooms, or P.G. with pacifist family, anywhere.—Box 258, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

CO (29), healthy, educated, desires work, mixed farming, fruit farming, or market gardening for keep and small wage. No experience. Southern counties preferred.—Box 257, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

LADY, educated, middle-aged, seeks position as companion-help or housekeeper. Good cook. Preferably North London. Highest references.—Harvey, 6 Lullington Park, N. Finchley, N.12.

PPU MAN (20), with secondary education and 2½ years' clerical experience, desires work. Willing to do anything.—Box 260, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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LONDON: Fowler "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, King's Cross, W.C.1. Bed and Breakfast, 5s. Double, 8s. 6d.



## Truth Drowns With The Innocents

continued from page 1)

we have the usual news-reels and such widely-boasted films as "The Lion Has Wings." The publishers may be relied upon, too, to do their bit: hasn't H.M. Stationery Office already given them a lead with its revelations of concentration camp horrors? The circumstances which inspired Lord Ponsonby to write his *Falsehood in Wartime* are being repeated with uncanny accuracy.

Side by side with distortion of war news there inevitably goes misrepresentation of the opposition, particularly the pacifist opposition. The *Sunday Dispatch* came out last week with a particularly flagrant example of the kind.

In an article with the heading "Peace Pledge Union School for Would-Be Conchies," it grossly misrepresented the work of the PPU and attributed statements to Miss Nancy Browne, the secretary of the National Joint Advisory Bureau for Conscientious Objectors, which were partly inaccurate and partly invented. Not only so: Miss Browne had never given an interview to any *Sunday Dispatch* reporter. The only possible conclusion is that the paper achieved its story by sending a young representative to her under the guise of an objector seeking advice. To such unprofessional depths will even a newspaper of national reputation sink to secure a dubious "scoop."

Beware of the propagandists! Beware of the war of lies! Falsehood is as essential to the conduct of war as truth to the establishment of liberty, justice and peace.

**Andrew Stewart**

The Treasurer of the Peace Pledge Union acknowledges with thanks the receipt of an anonymous donation of 4s. from Amersham "to help the cause of that truly Christian man whose love for all humanity was greater than empires."

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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## News of the Objectors POLISH REFUGEES NOT "OF INTEREST TO US"

—TRIBUNAL CHAIRMAN

### New Advisory Bureaux

FOLLOWING are the latest additions and amendments to the last complete list of advisory bureaux for COs published in *Peace News*. Any similar changes should be sent to the National Advisory Bureau, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and NOT to *Peace News*.

#### Amendments

**BARRY.** Alderman E. Cawley, 26 Robin's Lane, Cadroxton, Barry, Glam.  
**BIRKENHEAD.** A. C. Lee, Beechcroft Settlement, Whetstone Lane, Birkenhead.  
**DERBY.** Rev. L. Scadeng Cheshire, 79, Mill Hill Lane, Derby.  
**KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.** Lawrence Stewart, 6 Wolsey Avenue, Summer Road, Thames Ditton.  
**LEWISHAM.** A. A. Vincent, 14 Duncruevie Road, S.E.13.  
**NEW MILLS AND DISTRICT.** D. Markham, Fairway, Disley, Cheshire.  
**RICHMOND AND DISTRICT.** H. C. Fisher, 3 Defoe Avenue, Kew Gardens, Richmond, Surrey.  
**SHADWELL.** A. Green, 54, Anthill Road, Bow, E.3.

#### Additions

**ABERYSTWYTH.** Rev. Dan Evans, Beth-seilun, Queen's Road, Aberystwyth.  
**BARKING.** Sydney F. Hall, 83 Netherfield Gardens, Barking.  
**CHISWICK.** E. J. O'Dwyer, 34 Duke's Avenue, Chiswick, W.4.  
**ENFIELD.** R. F. Mansfield, 11 Kimberley Gardens, Enfield.  
**DAGENHAM.** S. J. Russell, Kingsley Hall, Dagenham, Essex.  
**HACKNEY.** Reuben Dodd, 67 Richmond Road, E.8.  
**HAMMERSMITH.** J. Chalner Wood, 67 Hammersmith Grove, W.6.  
**KENSINGTON.** C. Stewart, 100b, Lexham Gardens, W.8.  
**LUTON.** Stanley M. Hall, 129 Montrose Avenue, Luton, Beds.  
**REDRUTH.** Leonard Carne, Druids Villa, Druids Road Illogan, Redruth, Cornwall.  
**RHOS WREXHAM.** Wilfred Owen, y Gerddi, Rhos Wrexham.  
**ROTHERHAM.** J. Locker, 101 Pitt Street, Rotherham.  
**STANFORD-LE-HOPE.** N. R. Ockendon, Roseville, Copland Road, Stanford-le-Hope.  
**WEST LONDON REGION.** J. L. Naumann, 13 Shaa Road, East Acton, W.3.

### Another Good Week for "Peace News"

ONCE again we can report an encouraging circulation figure for *Peace News*.

Last week we printed 37,077 copies and by Tuesday night less than 1,000 remained on our hands. The previous week's figure of 42,000 was, of course, an exceptional one due to the number of Armistice meetings. The week before that we printed 36,000 copies, so last week's figure shows a continuation of the steady rise that was interrupted by the Armistice issue.

This is really encouraging at this time of year, particularly as sellers have the difficulty of the black-out to contend with.

Meanwhile *Peace News* is in need of another kind of help—financial. This week's contributions to the *Peace News* Fund total £4 12s., bringing the amount so far received up to £343 13s. 5d.

(The *Peace News* Fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

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ALREADY the idea that Great Britain entered the war in any real sense as a champion of Poland appears to have been abandoned by the members of the London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, according to a remarkable observation by the Chairman of the Tribunal (Judge Hargreaves).

Mr. Alfred Braithwaite, the chairman of the Friends' Conscience Committee, had asked whether the Tribunal, which had recognized enrolment in the Friends' Ambulance Unit as the alternative service, would similarly recognize the relief work among Polish refugees which is proposed to be undertaken in Rumania and Hungary under Friends' auspices.

"I don't think so," replied the Judge, "because it involves work in another country. It is outside our control."

"During the last war many Friends were given the option of doing work in France," Mr. Braithwaite pointed out.

"Yes," was the chairman's frank rejoinder. "That was of interest to us. I don't think we can take cognisance of work beyond that."

### Forthcoming Tribunals

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors:

#### LONDON

In Fulham Town Hall (nearest station, Walham Green) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in West London County Court, North End Road (stations West Kensington or Barons Court) on Thursdays (1.30 to 5 p.m.) and Fridays (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.)

#### SOUTH-EASTERN

In Southwark County Court, Swan Street, off Trinity Street, Borough (stations, Borough or Elephant and Castle) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.)

This tribunal also deals with London cases on Tuesdays, when it meets in Bloomsbury County Court, Great Portland Street, at 10.30 a.m.

The above dates are subject to alteration at the discretion of the chairman of the tribunal, though changes are rare.

#### NORTH WALES

In Assize Court, Caernarvon, at 10.30 a.m. today (Friday).

#### NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

In Newcastle County Court, 56 Westgate Road, Newcastle, on November 30, and December 5, 6, 14 and 15 (10.30 a.m. to 1.15 p.m. and 2.15 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. approx. each day, but December 15 sitting may end earlier).

#### NORTH-EASTERN

Today and on Monday—presumably at Leeds.

#### SOUTH-WESTERN

In University of Bristol Senate Room on December 7, 8 and 9.

Also possibly (though not certain) on December 21, 22 and 23 and January 1, 2, 3, and 4.

#### SOUTH WALES

In Guildhall, Swansea, today, Friday (10.30 a.m.). In City Hall, Cardiff, on November 27, 29 and 30 (10 a.m.).

#### MANCHESTER AND PRESTON

In Manchester today; and Preston (No. 2 Court, Sessions Courts, Lancaster Road), on November 28, 29 and 30, and December 1.

### Meeting for C.O.s

#### Old and New

SOME of those who were "absolutists" in the last war are anxious to meet one another again in the so similar circumstances of the present time and to be given the privilege of coming into touch with those young men who are having to face the same decisions and difficulties today as were faced during the Great War.

All "absolutists" and all Conscientious Objectors who have already faced Tribunals, or who will be having to do so shortly, are therefore invited to meet together at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W, at 2.45 p.m. on Saturday, November 25.

It is hoped that the meeting will at least make clear to COs who perhaps have not yet decided whether to accept work of National importance or not, what the grounds were upon which such work was rejected by many COs during the Great War. Fenner Brockway, who was Hon. Secretary of the No-Conscription Fellowship then, will be there for part of the time.

### Test Tribunal "Grills"

#### Applicants

A SECOND Test Tribunal arranged by the Advisory Committee for COs was held recently at the Folk House, Reading.

There were four applicants, three of whom based their objection on religious grounds. Of these Mr. L. C. W. Hammond, who said that the alternative service he could accept with a clear conscience was work on the land, was granted exemption on condition that he did work of "national importance" under civilian control.

Mr. George Harbard's case was well supported both by his answers and his record of work for the peace movement. He was granted unconditional exemption and it was hoped that he would continue his work for his fellow men.

Mr. John Caffyn, the secretary of the Reading Peace Pledge Union Group, was another applicant. He said that he opposed war because it was criminal folly, because it showed bankruptcy of method as it quite failed in its purpose, and thirdly it had a degrading effect on personality.

## P.P.U. Chairman Resigns: To Be General Secretary

AS is generally known, Stuart Morris, having resigned his canonry in April has now taken advantage of the Clergy Disabilities Act to "relinquish all rights and privileges, advantages and exemptions of his office as a priest in the Church of England." He has emphasized the fact that, although he had decided some time ago to relinquish his orders if in his judgment the Church of England could be said to be supporting another war, there were also personal reasons which led him to take this step.

These same personal reasons, and no question of policy whatever, have led to his resignation from the chairmanship of the Peace Pledge Union, and the National Council will at its next meeting consider recommendations from the Executive Committee in regard to the vacant position.

The National Council, on the recommendation of the Executive, has appointed Stuart Morris as General Secretary, with the earnest recommendation that he should be in the office during regular working hours, and regard this as having priority over speaking engagements.

This new arrangement, while it means that he will not be able to accept engagements to speak, will go some way to meet the expressed wish of many groups who desire to see a division between the office of Chairman and General Secretary.

### Recognition for Civil Service Pacifists

Officers of the National Association of Local Government Officers are ready to protect the interests of pacifist members of the association. This assurance has been given in a footnote to a letter published in the association's journal, *Local Government Service*. It added that already a number of pacifists had been represented before the tribunals.

In a letter in the October issue William G. Ford declared that "the Civil Service Clerical Association has obtained a large measure of recognition from the Government for its members who take the pacifist stand." Mr. Ford said that he understood that "civil servants who secure complete exemption by a tribunal will be permitted to remain in the Service."

Members of the Association in the London area are invited to a meeting at Room 17, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1, at 3 p.m., on Saturday, December 2. Object of the meeting is the formation of a peace group within the association, and the organizers have been promised a speaker from headquarters who will tell of the assistance being given to pacifists.

So far two meetings have been held at the Kingsway Hall for Civil Service pacifists, one on October 25 and the other on November 8. Many departments and grades were represented.

At the first meeting a committee was appointed, and at the second, its report, outlining the aims and objects of the "Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship" was received.

About 150 were present at each meeting. It was suggested that overtime or extra pay, received on account of the war, should be sent to organizations working for peace.

Further information regarding the Fellowship is obtainable from the Secretary, D. H. Brims, 239 Northumberland Avenue, Welling, Kent.

### Workers Urge Armistice

A resolution calling upon the British Government to "propose an immediate armistice in order that a conference of the belligerent and chief neutral Powers may be held for the purpose of discussing the conditions of peace," was carried by 90 votes to three at a meeting in the Co-operative Hall, Enfield Highway, organized by the Enfield and Waltham "War and the Workers" Committee.

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